

## Government 333

# *INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION*

Wesleyan University

Fall 2009  
M, W 1:10-2:30  
Room PAC 421

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### I. Course Description

Nations have increasingly attempted to manage their interdependence collectively through the use of international organizations. This course represents a systematic study of these organizations: their structures, impact, successes, and failures. Emphasis will be placed on analyzing competing theories of international organization and evaluating current scholarship on the performance of these institutions in today's most important international issue-areas: security, economic efficiency, economic development, food aid, human rights, and the environment. In addition, the class will participate in several simulated diplomatic bargaining sessions on current international issues.

### II. Assignments

The final grade will be based on three research papers on topics to be handed out during the semester and participation. Weights and due dates are as follow:

Participation	25%	
First Paper	25%	Due by October 5
Second Paper	25%	Due by November 30
Final Paper	25%	Due during final exam period

The format of the course will be principally discussion. Class handouts which will help you prepare for the discussions will be handed out early in the semester.

Groups of students will present plans for solving all of the major global problems presented in Section 2. A to G. If you are not presenting on a particular problem, you should still have a two-page memo mapping out your own plan for solving the problem.

### III. Readings

All readings on this syllabus are required, unless stated otherwise. The readings are on reserve at the Olin Library Reserve Room and are also on electronic reserve. The following books will serve as texts for the course, and are recommended for purchase at the Broad Street bookstore:

Lawrence Ziring, Robert Riggs and Jack Plano, The United Nations, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition

Michael Oldstone, Viruses, Plagues and History

#### **IV. International Organization as a Force for Peace and Stability**

International organization (IO) is a fairly recent phenomenon. The last 100 years have seen the growth of international governmental organizations (IGOs) and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) from very few to over 600 and 6,000 respectively. Much debate has gone on over the origins and nature of this new means of managing interdependence among nations. But even more attention has gravitated around the issue of the effects of international organization. A cursory reading of the daily press will show that the world is far from a federated system of nations being governed by powerful organizations like the UN. We see that issues are much discussed in these international fora, but the resolutions (which themselves are never ubiquitous) are never binding in an absolute legal sense. We also see that the laws and norms of these organizations are rarely enforced. These circumstances lead many (both cynics and non-cynics) to conclude that international organization is not a central player in international politics. And when it does make an impact, it is at a very low level of salience (i.e., IOs are given more power over less politicized issues such as transportation and communication).

This view is compelling, but hardly unproblematic. It assumes that the impact of an actor is proportional to its involvement in a situation and its ability to influence other actors in that same situation. However, in international politics, as in social relations in general, this is not the case. Sometimes very small functions can generate great influence over outcomes. How many wars has the discussion which has gone on in the UN prevented? How many revolutions has the economic aid of the IMF and World Bank prevented? Considering the fact that many international crises are ignited by very small incidents (e.g., the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand), very small functions which are normally played by IOs may very well generate a disproportionate impact on international relations. Hence, in this case, small might very well carry a big impact (e.g., "for want of a horse, my kingdom was lost").

This is an important consideration when judging the effectiveness of IO in solving the principal problems of international relations. Each function which is intended to stabilize some set of relations must be carefully scrutinized independently of its scope and direct impact. Of central importance is the idea of preventive maintenance, or what we can call "solving international problems by the back door." Peace can be preserved by direct and indirect means. A direct means might be a collective security system where a group of nations rises up against any perceived aggressor. An indirect means may be the avoidance of war by improving the economic conditions of poorer countries (e.g., providing them with the resources they would otherwise be forced to take by war). No complete judgement of the success of international organization in specific issue-areas is possible without a sensitivity to all the complex effects. Sometimes, such a judgement might be facilitated by indulging in counter-factuals: e.g., how would this event have turned out differently without U.N. intervention? There are many issues on the world diplomatic agenda, and all of them are being influenced by international organizations. This creates both a complex and challenging array of cases for those interested in understanding international organization.

## V. Course Outline

Introductory Class  
(Sept 9)

### 1. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

#### A. Theoretical Traditions of International Politics (Sept 14)

Art and Jervis, International Politics, pps. 2-7

Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, Chapter 1

Hedley Bull, "Does Order Exist in World Politics"  
in Art and Jervis, International Politics,  
pps. 29-41

Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs"  
Philosophy and PublicAffairs (1993)

#### B. Determinants of the Growth and Timing of International Organization (Sept 16)

Harold Jacobson, Networks, Chapters 1, 3

#### C. The Structure and Functions of the U.N.: Building World Government

Sept 21

The class will watch a documentary, "The U.N. in  
a Revolutionary World." The film  
highlights the origins of the structures and roles of  
the U.N.

Sept 23

We will discuss the nature and effectiveness of U.N.  
supranational governance in light of the documentary  
and the following reading:

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,  
Chapters 1- 3

## D. Theories of International Organization

### D.1. Functionalism

(Sept 28)

Harold Jacobson, Networks, Chapter 4

David Mitrany, "The Functional Alternative"  
in Charles Beitz and Theodore Herman, eds.,  
Peace and War

### D.2. Neofunctionalism and Beyond

(Sept 30)

Review Jacobson, Networks, Chapter 4

Robert Cox, "The Crisis of World Order and  
the Problem of International Organization in  
the 1980s" International Journal 35  
(Spring 1980)

Samuel Huntington, "Transnational Organizations  
in World Politics" World Politics 25  
(April 1973)

## 2. MANAGING GLOBAL ISSUES

### A. The Collective Management of International Security

(Oct 5)

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,  
Chapters 5,6

Michael Doyle, "Peace Building" Global Governance, 13, 2007

Michael Barnett, "Bringing in the New World Order" World Politics, 49 (July 1997)

Brian Urquhart, "United Nations Peace Forces and  
the Changing United Nations" International Organization 17 (Spring 1963)

### **First Paper Due October 5**

### B. Managing Economic Stability

#### B.1. International Trade Relations

(Oct 8)

Jock Finlayson and Mark Zacher, "GATT and the Regulation of Trade Barriers"  
International Organization 35 (Autumn 1981)

John Jackson, "The Crumbling Institutions of the Liberal Trade System" Journal of World Trade Law 12,2

J. Michael Finger, "The GATT as an International Discipline over Trade Restrictions: A Public Choice Approach" in Roland Vaubel and Thomas Willett, ed., The Political Economy of International Organizations

John Jackson, "Managing the Trading System: The World Trade Organization and the Post-Uruguay Round GATT Agenda" in Peter Kenen, ed. Managing the World Economy

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations, Chapters 10, sections on trade

## B.2. International Monetary Relations

Oct 12

The class will watch the documentary "One World, One Economy." The film explores how the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has attempted to promote economic growth and stability in Mexico, Poland, and Ghana.

Oct 14

We will discuss the film in light of the following readings:

Ismail Abdalla, "The Inadequacy and Loss of Legitimacy of the International Monetary Fund"  
Development Dialogue (1980)

Cheryl Payer, "The World Bank and the Small Farmers"  
Journal of Peace Research 16 (1979)

Graham Bird, "The IMF and Developing Countries" International Organization, 50 (Summer 1996)

Allan Meltzer, "What's Wrong with the IMF? What Would Be Better" The Independent Review (Fall) 1999

Kenneth Rogoff, "The IMF Strikes Back" Foreign Policy (January/February) 2003

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,

Chapters 10, sections on finance

C. Global Hunger and Food Aid  
(Oct 19)

Raymond Hopkins, "Reform in the International Food Aid Regime:  
The Role of Consensual Knowledge" International Organization  
46 (Winter 1992)

Foreign Policy Association, "Farmers, Food and the Global  
Market" Great Decisions 1989

Frances Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins, and David Kinley,  
Aid as Obstacle, Chapters 12-17,20

D. The Collective Management of Development

D.1. The Nature of Underdevelopment  
(Oct 21)

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,  
Chapter 10

Ian Little, Economic Underdevelopment,  
Chapters 1,2

Jagdish Bhagwati, The Economics of  
Underdeveloped Countries, Chapters 1-3

D.2. Solving the Problem  
(Oct 28)

Peter Bauer and Anthony Daniels, "No Aid at All"  
Cato Policy Report (November\December 1991)

Martha Nussbaum, Women and Human Development, pp. 1-110

Amartya Sen, Development As Freedom, pp. 1-53

Marguerite Robinson, The Microfinance Revolution, pp. 6-45

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,  
Chapter 11

Nov 2,4

Simulated North-South bargaining sessions in UNCTAD:  
instructions and background materials will be distributed  
before the first meeting

E. Confronting the Problem of International Human Rights  
(Nov 9)

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,  
Chapter 9, sections on human rights

Giulio Gallarotti and Arik Preis: "Politics, International Justice and  
The United States: Toward a Permanent International Criminal Court"  
Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 53, No. 1, (1999)

F. Managing the Global Commons: Preserving Our Environment  
(Nov 11)

"The Earth in the Balance" UN Chronicle 34, 2 1997

Robert Solow, "Sustainability: An Economist's Perspective" in Robert Stavins, ed, Economics of the  
Environment (2000)

Per Wijkman, "Managing the Global Commons"  
International Organization 36 (Summer 1982)

Peter Haas, Marc Levy, and Edward Parson, "Earth Summit  
Judging its Success" Environment 34 (October 1992)

Giulio Gallarotti, "It Pays to be Green: The Managerial Incentive  
Structure and Environmentally Sound Strategies" Columbia Journal of World Business  
30,4 (Winter 1995)

Wilfred Beckerman and Joanna Pasek, "The Equitable International Allocation of  
Tradable Carbon Emission Permits" Global Environmental Change 5,5 1995

Daniel Esty, "The Case for a Global Environmental Organization,"  
Peter Kenen, ed., Managing the World Economy

Nov 16, 18

North-South Bargaining Session on the Environment:  
background materials will be distributed before class

G. Managing Global Health

(Nov 23)

Laura Gaydos and James Veney, "The Nature and Etiology of Disease" in Bruce Fried and Laura Gaydos, eds, World Health Systems, Chapter 1

Michael Oldstone, Viruses, Plagues and History, Oxford University Press, 1998

Background materials on World Health Organization in your handout packets

Brian Doherty, "Who Cares? The World Health Organization Cares More About Its Own Life Than the Lives of the Poor" Reasonline January 2002

### **Second Paper Due November 30**

#### 3. PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH PROJECTS (Nov 30-Dec 9)

#### 4. THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (Dec 14)

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations, Chapter 11

Harold Jacobson, Networks, Chapter 16